THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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THE CASE OF CAPTAIN JACQUES SADOUL.

In November, 1790, Edmund Burke published his famous work, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," which became almost at once the literary classic of the European re-action against the French Revolution. The same month Thomas Paine took up his pen to write his magnificent reply, which he gave to the world under the significant title: "The Rights of Man." In his preface to the book, filled with just indignation at Burke's treachery, Paine wrote: "When I saw the flagrant misrepresentation which Mr. Burke's pamphlet contains; and that while it is an outrageous abuse of the French Revolution and the principles of liberty, it is also an imposition on the rest of the world."

To-day the intellectual lackeys of a united landlord and capitalist class are flagrantly misrepresenting the nature and work of the glorious Russian Revolution. All the elements of re-action, militarism and capitalism in Europe are grouped together in a common fear and hatred of the first working-class republic, the pioneer nation of a new social order that is struggling into being. In place of the literary force and personality of such as Edmund Burke, capitalist society has come to depend upon a prostitute Press for its intellectual support, and each hour of the day all over the civilised world it is turning out columns of myths, fables and falsehoods in the service of these new masters of the world. One's imagination is staggered by the power of the lie, as it finds organised expression through the capitalist Press. Not only is the truth suppressed, but the reputations of those who seek to spread the light of truth are ruthlessly attacked.

A case in point has just been brought dramatically before French public opinion in the person of Captain Jacques Sadoul, who has been sentenced to military degradation and death for having defended by his work, his pen, the new régime in Russia. The whole affair has been a travesty of justice. When the war broke out Sadoul was mobilised as an infantry officer, but owing to an accident in his youth that had resulted in an injury to his knee, he was unable to undertake active service, and was in consequence given legal work with a court martial at Troyes. He found that work far from agreeable, as it involved sometimes inflicting further suffering upon the soldiers, and he was known to be anxious to spare men the humiliation of military punishment and prison. Sadoul was too generous and humane to seek his own advancement at the expense of the misery of others.

In 1916, Albert Thomas, who was then Minister of Munitions, secured the services of Sadoul as an attaché at the Ministry of Armaments. He is reputed to have done useful administrative work while in the service of that department. On the return of Albert Thomas from Russia in 1917, Sadoul went out there to join the French Military Mission as a technical adviser on munition work. He arrived in Petrograd on October 1st; Kerensky was still in power; things were drifting from bad to worse, as he explained at length in a letter to Albert Thomas a few weeks after his arrival.

He worked hard to bring about some form of contact between the leaders of the new Government, Lenin and Trotsky, and the representatives of the Allies. Though not acting as an official spokesman of the Military Mission, he was allowed to pay almost daily visits to the Smolny Institute, the centre of Bolshevik activity in Petrograd, where he discussed with Trotsky the many problems that concerned both Russia and the Allies. Sadoul at that time quite honestly says of himself: "I am not a Bolshevik"; and yet one feels that he is already responding to the admirable force of idealism and progress generated by the revolutionary life around him.

Sadoul was bitterly disappointed by the refusal of the Allied Governments to enter into relations with the only group of men capable of exerting any influence upon the Russian people; while at the same time they were plotting to

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aid with men, money and materials the reactionary forces working for a counter-revolution. Throughout those critical weeks the Allied representatives were blind to the real forces at work in Russia; and finally their class prejudices led them to forsake the Russian people in the hour of their great struggle against German militarism at Brest-Litovsk. Sadoul redoubled his efforts to influence public opinion in France. He wrote a series of admirable letters* to Albert Thomas, Romain Rolland, Jean Longuet, and other Socialist leaders, so that they might influence public opinion by a fuller knowledge of men and events in Soviet Russia. These letters cover the period from October, 1917, to January, 1919; the censor forbade their publication during the war, and they had to be circulated in secret, or communicated to the public by the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies. They have now been published in book form under the title, "Notes sur La Révolution Bolchevique," and they give one a powerful and vivid impression of Russian affairs during that supremely important period. The letters show that as the weeks went by he entered more fully into the work of the Revolution, and at last threw in his lot wholeheartedly with Lenin and Trotsky to help build up the new social order in Russia. During this time the men whose work in Russia he had exposed in his letters had returned to France, and they started an active campaign against him in Paris. His motives were called into question; his character blackened; and finally he was accused of desertion and "intelligence" with the enemy—this, though constitutionally speaking, France was not at war with Russia!

The Socialist Party replied to this miserable campaign by placing Sadoul's name at the head of their list of candidates in the third electoral district of Paris. But as the brilliant young Socialist deputy, Vaillant-Courturier, said at a recent demonstration in Paris, the Party has fought for Sadoul's life and honour at every election meeting in France, as a symbol of their solidarity with the masses of Soviet Russia. Sadoul's nomination as a Socialist candidate was the signal that alarmed the French authorities; that was really too much! M. Clemenceau denounced this act in his speech at Strasbourg, and said that it had committed the Socialist Party to the approval of a crime. In the meantime court martial proceedings were going forward in Paris. The verdict was a foregone conclusion. Sadoul was found guilty of desertion and communication with the enemy, and was sentenced to military degradation and death.

It was generally assumed that this decision would render him ineligible as a candidate, and that his name would have to be withdrawn. But that is not so. As the French law stands at present, a candidate under such circumstances may be presented for election, and it is quite legal to vote for him, but in the event of his election Parliament would have to decide if he should be allowed to take his seat. Sadoul's name actually went forward, and at the poll he received 41,363 votes, but just failed to secure election. The case of Jacques Sadoul is important not only because a grave injustice has been committed against this man, but because in defending him the French Socialists have also defended the Russian Revolution. The French Socialist Party has recovered some of its revolutionary élan, and ranged its forces on the side of the Russian Socialist Republic in the struggle for universal Socialism.

RICHARD CLEMENTS.

* "The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia: Its Rise and Organisation." Price 2d. Published by the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet-street, E.C.4.

GREAT PEASANT AWAKENING IN ITALY.

The past six weeks have been marked by peasants' strikes throughout the length and breadth of Italy.

Do British readers appreciate what this means?

It means, first, that a portion of the Italian peasantry is organised.

And what does this mean to a country facing revolutionary problems?

No one who is familiar with the course of the Soviet revolutions in Russia, Bavaria and Hungary can miss its significance. In Russia, the Soviet Government has several times been on the point of collapse because of the hostility of the peasantry, ignorant of the larger economic problems and insistent on immediate prosperity. In Bavaria the peasants were easily stirred to a fury of hatred against Soviet Munich and formed volunteer armies for the siege of the city. In all revolutions the very lives of the city proletariat are endangered by the reluctance or refusal of the peasantry to send food to the towns.

Let us recall that in Russia, speaking broadly, the peasants made two demands, one of which the Soviet Government was unwilling, and the other unable, to grant. The first was for the division of land into microscopic farms to be tilled by age-old individual methods. The second was for manufactured articles, clothes, farm implements and the like. The Soviet Government, aiming at increased agricultural production by large-scale scientific methods, opposed, as long as it could, the division of the great estates. And it was unable, because of the blockade and the civil war, to supply the manufactured products which constituted the only money for which the peasants would surrender their grain. As a result, a large portion of the peasantry fought the Soviets politically and sought to starve them economically. In Bavaria, the peasantry, under the control of the priests, deliberately boycotted and starved Soviet Munich. In Hungary, on the contrary, the central Government, through timely organisation of the peasants, succeeded to a certain extent in keeping the great estates intact and under centralised control, thus assuring at least a partial supply of food to Budapest. To this was due its extraordinary tenacity against such amazing odds.

It is clear from all this that the united opposition of the peasantry can cause the failure of any revolution, and that one of the most important problems of revolutionary tactics is to unite the workers of the farms with those of the city. But after the revolution has commenced, this uniting can be achieved only with great difficulty, as the Bolsheviks discovered both in Russia and in Bavaria. In Russia the Bolsheviks saved themselves (though they could not save their land programme) by making their appeal to the landless peasantry. In Bavaria, where the landless peasantry was small, the attempt failed disastrously.

Obviously, unless the city workers can make their influence felt among the peasants *before* the revolution comes, they will have a hard time of it.

Now the significance of these Italian farm strikes is precisely this: that the Italian Socialist labour unions, after ten years of effort, *have* made their influence felt among the farm workers, and have bound them into a close alliance with the city. Nearly half a million food producers are organised into unions allied with the Federation of Industrial Unions, are directed from the cities, and look to the cities for instruction and comradeship.

* * * *

The organisation of the Italian farm workers has been going on steadily for a decade, but never before have the farm strikes been so general or so widely spread as this year. The strikers were of course not free-holders or owners of the land in any sense, but were chiefly of two classes: the tenant farmers, usually paying no money rent, but rendering a tribute of half the produce to the owner for the privilege of working the land; and the totally landless day labourers who move from farm to farm at a fixed daily wage.

The strikes occurred at this autumn period because it is at once the time for the sowing of winter crops, of harvesting certain late fall crops and the time for the revision of the agreements under which the tenant farmers work. The demands varied as widely as the geography and the customs of the various provinces, and were of such technical character as the proportion between eggs and chickens in the annual tribute. But one demand emerged everywhere; it was for the permanency of tenantship until an impartial court of arbitration should abolish the contract. In other words, the tenant farmers demanded that they should not be subject to dismissal on a day's notice, when the annual term of the contract had expired. They asked that once settled upon the land they should be allowed to remain unless good cause to the contrary were shown before an impartial tribunal.

In some parts of Italy, particularly to the south, the strikes led to pitched battles. At Ribisi, in Sicily, several thousand of the strikers (these were the landless day labourers) took possession of the feudal castle dominating the estate on which they were employed, and raised above it the red flag. Later they were cornered in the village market place and shot down by the soldiers. In the north, near Piacenza, a band of strikers sought to free some of their comrades held prisoners on the estate, and were opposed by a barricade defended by the owner of the farm and all his family, every one armed. In these instances and in many others, deaths resulted.

* * * *

But the rural uprisings have not attained a revolutionary character. They have not altered the Italian system of land tenure, although they have materially bettered the position of the lower Italian peasantry. They are important chiefly as signs of the increasing solidarity of the peasantry with the city workers.

In the district around Florence, for example, where no large farm strike had ever occurred before, there are 10,000 heads of families, in round numbers, organised into the farm union allied with the Florence Camera del Lavoro. But these 10,000 heads of families represent in all at least 50,000 actual workers, since all members of the family, above the age of childhood, work on the farms. This represents between 20 per cent. and 25 per cent. of the farm workers in the Florentine district—not a bad proportion for a beginning. With this proportion organised, the Camera del Lavoro was able to engineer the whole strike, to obtain substantial benefits for the union members, and to secure the recognition of the union by the association of land-owners. Several of the most important matters of dispute were referred to a Government arbitration commission. Before this commission the farm workers' union will be represented *as such*, and *as such* the employers' association will treat with it. The moral victory of this first strike is complete. Most of the other strikes, too, resulted in similar moral victories, with further advantages of a more or less substantial character.

The organisation of these Italian farm workers in conjunction with the city unions is remarkable, first in that it can be done at all, and second, in that it can be done in the face of the opposition of the Church.

Italy is almost unique in having these farm unions. They would be next to unthinkable in other west European countries. In North America they, or something like them, have made their appearance only because of the remarkable energy of the I.W.W. But here they have spread not at all among the tenant farmers, but only among the migrating proletariat of the farms, mostly among men without families or any other ties to the land. So astonishing was the phenomenon of farm organisation in America, that the bourgeois papers could not believe them true, but pictured them as organised armies of tramps, campaigning in bands of thousands from state to state, burning, looting and raping as they went.

To organise industrial workers who labour together day after day in the same factory is relatively easy. But to organise rural workers, who live and work by themselves, and whose thoughts are bounded, usually, by their own acre fences, is a triumph.

And it is especially a triumph in Italy. Here the rural population in the last generation was overwhelmingly illiterate. And the parish priests, trading on this ignorance, were always present to hold threats of hell torture over those who accepted the new ideas of trade unionism or communism.

In spite of this, the Italian trade unionists went doggedly at it. So successful did they become, after a few years' work (especially in the region around Bologna) that the Church became alarmed. Thereupon the priests were instructed to organise yellow trade unions to combat the new ideas. And of course they had success. The organisation of the Church is one that can be turned easily to political ends. The local priest is permanently on the job. He does not need a salary for his organisation work. He holds the fear and the confidence of his parishioners. The Catholic clergy of Italy is in itself a counter-revolutionary organisation that cannot be surpassed the world over. Hence, Catholic farm unions have followed everywhere in the wake of Socialist organisations. In the Florentine district, for example, the Catholics have organised more extensively than the Socialists, and can count as many as 35 per cent. of the farm workers under their control. Their programme, with these unions, as well as with their unimportant city unions, and with their political party, is a faded imitation of that of their rivals. In fact, the clerical programme in Italy is scarcely other than that of Reform Socialism with the teeth drawn.

But the disadvantage of the clericals is that they cannot offer a programme radical enough to meet the present revolutionary crisis. Among the farm workers they have kept the demands down to the least which would satisfy the workers. Strikes have occurred among the Catholic unions, but they have been scattered and small. The Socialist unions have taken advantage of the general awakening and discontent caused by the war and have demanded a radical revision of the agreements between owners and workers, looking to the ultimate reversion of the land to the people. The success gained, though it may look small to British readers, looks large to the peasants themselves, and greatly increases the prestige of the Socialist leaders. The revolutionary unions have done what the Catholics, in spite of their greater strength, dared not or could not attempt.

I asked Filiberto Smorti, secretary of the Florence Camera del Lavoro, the man who directed the peasants' strike in the Florence district, why success had been possible this year, though it had never been thinkable before.

"It is because the peasants have learned a great lesson from the war," he replied. "They were snatched away from their fences and thrown into contact with other men, often Socialists from the cities. They discovered ideas that would never have reached them on their quiet farms.

"More important, they became accustomed to the idea of force. They saw how the Govern-

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THE WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

TO THE RANK AND FILE OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Contrary to the expectations of most people, the trade union movement as a whole was not destroyed or even weakened by the revolutionary changes of the war. It grew in magnitude and power. It evolved features of a character, the significance of which becomes more clearly defined as the fight with the employing class increases in ferocity. It brought to the front issues which indicated that the forces of production had in their detailed manifestations passed beyond the capacity of trade unions, as such, to cope with them. It revealed tendencies hitherto almost unnoticed and weakness and strength in unexpected places.

Amidst the welter of the industrial strife, following as a direct product of the capitalist world conflagration, the conflict of the old and new features has produced problems which we are convinced cannot be solved without vigorous and courageous activity on the part of those to whom this manifesto is addressed.

When the first trade unions started on their upward way democracy characterised their methods, and the narrow horizon of trade limited their activities. The horizon has widened, and the methods of procedure have changed with the passing of the years.

Fusions, federations, confederations, councils and congresses have followed the industrial progression of capitalism. With their growth there vanished much of the early democracy, and in its place there comes a big specialised army to man the organisations in oligarchical or caucus fashion. Rulership from below has given place to rulership from above. This development has its own peculiarities, in that the conservatism of the constitutions and the remoteness of the officials from the changes proceeding in industry has produced psychological contrasts between officialdom and the rank and file. This phenomenon aggravates the consideration of the current problems in the direction of the stabilising of capitalism. For the magnitude of the industrial labour movement, coinciding with the economics of the age, such questions as nationalisation and the control of industry come more and more to the front, and, tackled by officialdom with its essentially capitalistic outlook, the whole machinery of the trades unions is constitutionally directed into channels of adaptation of these matters to the capitalist system. Hence the approval of Whitleyism and the elaborate machinery of conciliation.

But the struggle does not abate, and the defects and limitations of the trades unions become ever more apparent. The call comes for a general staff for the labour hosts, and again the principal thought impressed is conservative and reactionary. The general staff of officialdom is to be a dam to the surging tide of independent working-class aspirations and not a directing agency towards the overthrow of capitalism.

Meanwhile the experiences of the workers in factories, mills and mines, on railways and in every other important department of industry have produced elements of organisation which demonstrate the weaknesses and shortcomings of the trade unions in relationship to the actual processes of industrial activity. These new developments, rising in the heat of conflict, unofficially and semi-officially characterised as "Shop Committees," "Workers' Committees," "Joint Shop Stewards Committees," "Pit Committees," etc., reveal quite clearly the changes which have to be wrought to make possible the fulfilment of the claims of the working class for the "control of industry." It is now definitely realised that the struggle of the workers is an everyday struggle, and that the organisation which can shoulder the positive responsibility for the running of industry must be an organisation with its roots firmly planted in every industrial group, ramifying fields, factories, mills, mines, railways and workshops. The industrial group must become the new unit of organisation in contradiction to the trade union branch based on residential convenience. Upon the rapid growth and the powerful co-ordination of these units depends our future. For not only are we urged in this direction on account of the reasons already given, but also because these committees are rapidly becoming the only means of expression of the working class towards an independent objective. The surrender of the trade unions' officialdom to Whitleyism, the acquiescence to the Industrial Courts Bill, the acceptance of arbitration awards, are all indications of the mass of machinery created and in process of creation for the purpose of dissipating the energy of the workers.

The only possible way we can avert this consummation of capitalist intrigue and official incapacity and servility to the ruling class is by the fullest possible development of the industrial movement, free from the trammels of compromising opportunism. Much has been done in this direction, and much remains to be done. Our immediate task is to draw together into organised form all those units, committees and organisations, approximating to the industrial unionist structure, which are prepared to move along lines of independence. To this task we must now address ourselves with no uncertainty of purpose.

The National Administrative Committee of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees is calling a National Conference for January 10th and 11th, 1920, the main purpose of which will be to unite the industrial workers for class action, to prepare a programme embracing the demands of the workers in their respective industries, and to determine what methods shall be pursued in future industrial conflicts. That each of these items is of immense importance few will now deny. Every strike of recent history has re-emphasised the futility of sectional strikes even when on so large a scale as the railway strike. Every strike now becomes a definite challenge to all the forces of the Government, and to attempt to fight these forces with anything less than all the forces of the organised working class is deliberately to place ourselves at a disadvantage. To accept the challenge of the governing class is to accept the responsibility to take out of the hands of the capitalist class its power to rule over us. These are the issues officialdom is shirking. These are the issues we must be courageous enough and audacious enough to tackle. We must draw up a programme to unite all workers and then, knowing clearly our objective, realising fully all that is involved in the fight to attain it, we must determine the preparations to be made. There is no time to be lost. The sufferings of the working class are intensifying in our midst. The world conflict between exploiters and exploited is rapidly reaching its highest pitch of ferocity; and we, men and women of the class with a destiny greater than any class which human history can record, must now rise to the grandeur of our task and be worthy of the freedom to which we move. Get to grips with the situation. Form your committees. Rouse yourselves and be strong!

J. T. MURPHY,
For the National Administrative Committee of the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees.

PEASANTS IN ITALY.

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ment was willing to use force for purposes which they could not understand. They were taught to worship force. And they began to wonder whether they might not use force to obtain advantages for themselves. So they came back to their farms unwilling to live again the lives they had been accustomed to, in which they could scarcely be sure of a living from one day to the next. They had a new spirit of self-dependence. They are determined to win their right for themselves."

Before the war, and just after the armistice, the number of farm workers organised under the Socialist unions was reckoned at about 200,000. Since the armistice the number has greatly increased. The official figure last summer was about 400,000. Now, the number can fairly be reckoned at half a million.

These organisations which now exist not only in prosperous Romagna, but also in mediæval Sicily, are the tentacles of a revolutionary organisation, reaching out into the country districts. They can be counted on to act in a revolutionary direction when the Italian revolution comes. They will do their part toward assuring food to the cities in critical times. They will present a united front to the counter-revolutionary activities of the Church. At least, it will be impossible in Italy to organise the whole peasantry against the revolution, as was done in Bavaria.

In spite of illiteracy, in spite of the Church, when the day of revolution comes in Italy, the peasants' councils will be a fact.

HIRAM K. MODERWELL.

:: W.S.F. : INTERNATIONAL : FAIR ::

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SOVIET RUSSIA.

STATISTICS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Supreme Council of National Economy has published some figures on occupations in Russia. The total population of Soviet Russia in Europe on February 1st was given as 82,200,000. Of this number 10,500,000, that is 12.8 per cent., were wage earners and salaried employees in industrial establishments, and their families. The number of wage earners alone was 4,300,00, and the number of salaried employees 455,000, in all, 4,755,000. The number of dependants of both classes was 5,745,000, which averages 1.2 dependants to one employee. This proportion indicates that the personnel of factories and other large industrial establishments consists mainly of young men and women. One-fourth of the total number of wage earners was engaged in transportation, namely, 800,000 railway workers and 275,000 workers engaged in transportation by water. The population of St. Petersburg and Moscow aggregated 2,400,000, of whom 1,800,000 represented wage earners and salaried employees, with their families, and 600,000 all other classes. In other words the proletariat in the two capitals represents 75 per cent. of the total population.—*Soviet Russia*, October 25th.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

From an article in *Pravda* on the activities of the women workers in the economic reconstruction of Russia, we learn that a nationalised factory (formerly Poliakoff and Co., one of the largest in Moscow) has on its works committee three women, one of whom was elected as manager. At first she had to carry on the direction of the big establishment quite alone without the aid of specialists or engineers. Nevertheless, she acquitted herself of her task most brilliantly. Everywhere factories were obliged to stop production for lack of raw material and fuel, but her factory has been able to work to this day. The factory has attached to it a dining-room, a crèche, and a school, and meetings and concerts take place at frequent intervals. The workers, thanks to the efforts of the woman-manager, all live in healthy and comfortable tenements formerly belonging to the capitalist class.

Another factory, the great confectionery works which formerly belonged to Sioux and Co., also has at its head three women who are respectively president, secretary, and treasurer of the works committee. They also discharge their duties in an exemplary manner. The factory has a school, a good library, and reading room, and carries on courses of lectures and musical instruction. The large factory formerly of Gubkin and Kuznetsoff, has also many women in various branches of the administration. It has a well-stocked library attached to it, and a club where lectures, concerts, and theatrical performances are held, and courses in dramatic art are given.—The People's Russian Information Bureau.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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IDEAS FOR A PROGRAMME

COMMUNISM: THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY OF FREE PEOPLE.

I.

Equality of Wages as a Step Towards the Abolition of the Wage System.

By what steps can we arrive at the classless society of free people and abolish the exploitation of labour? In what simple form can we set out a Communist Programme, in order that it may be understood at a glance by the most untutored person?

It is agreed that essential points in the Communist programme are:—

(1) *The overthrow of the capitalist system and the vesting in the Community as a whole of the land, the industries, and the means of production and exchange, with control by the workers therein.*

(2) *The abolition of Parliament and the substitution of Councils of delegates from the workers in industry and on the land, and from the soldiers and sailors.*

(3) *The dictatorship of the workers until the revolutionary period has passed and social classes have disappeared.*

(4) *Adherence to the Third or Communist International.*

Out of the cardinal point, the abolition of Capitalism, with its poverty and exploitation and its degrading system of social classes, very acute controversies develop even amongst those who profess to be Socialists. On the simple question of the remuneration of workers in the socialised industries, there is much anti-socialist confusion of thought. Yet it should hardly need to be stated that so long as the wage system remains, wages must be equal for all industries and all sections of industry; otherwise, we cannot have a classless society.

If the unskilled workers are to receive lower wages than the skilled workers, they will form a lower class. They and their children will live in poorer houses, eat less food, wear inferior clothing, and have less money for recreation and culture ;if not in all these things, at least in some of them, the unskilled workers will lack what is given to the skilled, and this is not a state of affairs which is in keeping with the Communist ideal. If the managers and technical experts are to be paid at a still higher rate, they will form yet another social class. In short, if there are two, three, or more grades of payment for services to the community, there will be two, three, or more classes in society. Therefore, it is essential that wages, so long as wages obtain, should be the same for all.

Those who argue from premises based on the conditions of bourgeois society protest that we must give a higher remuneration for work which requires a longer or more expensive training, or a higher degree of natural ability, or entails a greater responsibility. The answers to these objections are perfectly obvious. Under Communism, all training will be given without charge and the student will be assured of maintenance. Therefore, the cost of the training need not be considered, and even in a bourgeois society surely those who are able to undertake an expensive training should rather be congratulated on their good fortune, than compensated for it; it is those who are denied an education who should be compensated. If the apprenticeship be long, the student should require no other special reward than the proficiency he has attained. As for those who possess unusual natural ability, their gift, their treasure is not a thing for which they should be paid. Responsible work, too, should be regarded as a privilege—that, indeed, is the only real reward which can be given for hard work and patient study; more responsible work is almost always more interesting work, and, within reasonable limits, such work is always enjoyed by those who are fitted for it.

A parrot cry often heard is: "Why should a clever and industrious worker get no more than one who is slow and stupid?" Yet everyone knows that that is commonly the case to-day. There is no general graduation of wages according to merit and ability, and if it be true that in our competitive society, the feeble of mind and body tend to be pushed down to the lowest rung of the economic ladder, this is not a social virtue over which we should rejoice. The effect is simply that the children of the unfit are condemned to live in unwholesome surroundings, and an entire class of people, chronically poor in health and deficient in energy, is the result.

It is said that the possibility of earning higher wages by working harder is needed as an incentive to a fair average of production. Yet most of the work done under capitalism is paid for by a weekly flat rate. Human beings are so essentially working-beings that the overtired factory employees engage in all sorts of not strictly essential labour in their few spare hours, though they are really in need of sleep; whilst the rich women, whose servants do all the work of their houses, find themselves obliged to take refuge from idleness in social work.

But still another objection is made: Equal wages would be unjust, for our needs are unequal; some people have more expensive, more diverse needs than others! This is a comfortable theory for the rich employer who compares himself with the office porter, or the employer's wife, who gives odds and ends of left-off clothing to the charwoman; but no wage system can possibly be regulated according to the temperament of the individual wage earners. It is practically possible to measure wages according to the value of the work accomplished, the conditions under which it is carried on, the age of the worker, or the size of the family dependent on the wage earned; extra remuneration might also be given to those who require special comforts on account of ill-health. But certainly no wage system can give higher wages to persons possessing the artistic temperament, to the connoisseur, or to the gourmand.

At the present time, our needs are very strictly regularised by the size of our purses; the building contractor and the ready-made clothing and furniture manufacturer cater for us by the thousand.

If we would attempt to supply the people according to their temperamental needs, we must leave the wage system behind and proceed to a more advanced stage of Communism. But after the long experience of Capitalism, and with its protagonists fighting to defeat the rise of Communism, it would be difficult to abolish the wage system altogether, without first passing through the stage of equal wages.

True equality of wages, of course, must either increase the wage on account of children and others dependent on the wage-earner, or special allowances must be made from other sources on their account.

It would probably be simplest to pay an equal flat rate for all forms of social service; the same rate to the woman as to the man, to the unmarried as to the married; and to provide that if an individual chooses to enter also a second occupation, the service given in the second occupation must be voluntary. For each child there would be a special allowance. To the mother who stays at home caring for her children, and to people too old to work, payments would be made equal to the wage earners' flat rate. The wage would continue at the full rate during illness and holidays.

Unemployment under Communism would be of rare and brief occurrence; it would not be the chronic factor that it is in the capitalist state. The unemployed should receive the payments equal to their wages when at work. It is objected that in that case, there would be much unemployment. We do not think so. A new point of view will be created by the knowledge that the worker is serving a community in which he has an equal share, not a private employer, whose business it is to get as much work as possible out of him for the lowest possible wage. It must be admitted that, on the whole, and just because work is a human necessity, the workers give astonishingly good service even under Capitalism. Moreover, the desire to do nothing, so commonly expressed, so seldom practised to-day, is the outcome of fatigue. It is a desire which disappears when mind and body are rested and health is restored. When the master and mistress are tired of work, they take a day in bed or a few days in the country; when the servant and the factory employee are in the same condition they go on working, but they work with reduced efficiency. Under proper conditions the illness called "laziness" will not be a thing to worry about, but if, in the earliest stages of Communism, pay at the full working flat rate should cause any serious difficulty, the situation must be dealt with as experience dictates, and according to the will of the workers' delegates.

The introduction of equal wages for all, and the bringing of every class in society into the ranks of the wage earners, would work tremendous changes in society; the millionaire and the beggar would both disappear. The "Society" people who depend helplessly on their maids and their valets, and weary themselves with a round of social engagements, the gamblers on the Stock Exchange, the anxious lower-middle-class always trying to keep up appearances on an inadequate income, the masses of working-class families ever struggling to ward off actual hunger; all these would be emancipated.

But the era of equal wages is not the goal: it is but a step to the abolition of the wage system.

THE ABOLITION OF WAGES.

Under the rationing systems, necessitated by war scarcity, the coupons have been as necessary for procuring the rationed articles as money itself. The money might be dispensed with altogether; the ration coupons, given without charge, and in equal measure to every individual, might become sufficient in themselves to procure the articles desired. The wage system may gradually be largely superseded by a free equal rationing of the main essentials of food and clothing, with such means of relaxation as that provided by the Russian House Committees, which give permission for the clothing ration to be exceeded by those who show that they are really needing new clothes.

But a system of universal rationing is still far from complete Communism; only when we can each of us have freely what we require shall we have reached that stage.

We shall be able to abolish wages when we have attained to the classless society; when the counter-revolutionary impulse has disappeared, and when production has been efficiently organised from the standpoint of the people's needs. We shall have abolished then the wasted labour entailed by the competitive capitalist system, the great business of advertising, the elaborate ramifications of wholesale and retail buying and selling, and the operations of the numerous middlemen, the making of inferior goods that last only a short time, the labour expended upon them being largely thrown away.

The idle non-productive class will have disappeared with the unemployed and the masses of people prematurely incapable of working, or only able to give inferior and intermittent service owing to bad social conditions.

The energies now concentrated on building up private fortunes will be devoted to the common good. We shall have an abundant production,

Continued on page 1564.

FATE OF WAGE SLAVES.

The right to live and the right to work are surely the birth-right of us all. Bad conditions, exploitation, and all the other attendant evils of capitalism have fostered a certain number of slackers and ne'er do wells; but that number is very small when one considers how much cause there is to work as little as one can for an employer who pays as little as he can.

When the armistice was signed unemployment began, and as the number of unemployed quickly ran into millions, the Government took fright and decided to dole out unemployment pay as a cheap means of warding off revolution. The number of unemployed now, according to the Minister of Labour, can be counted in thousands; such numbers are not regarded as being formidable, hence the cessation of doles. Why the Government should imagine that these doles were a favour, instead of the right of every worker strikes one as strange in view of the facts of the case. The workers did not make the war; but they were the greatest sufferers thereby. Theirs were the hardships of the front, with all their horrors; theirs was the discomfort of miserable accommodation on ships and trains, and in camp. Anything was and is considered good enough for the rank and file!

Now, with war profiteers squandering their wealth, those who wanted the war to last for eons of time; the unfortunate worker, workless as the result of war bankruptcy, and homeless in many cases, is to shift for himself. Does anyone who advised the Minister of Labour to stop the dole to those who had been demobilised a year, realise that these people have no banking accounts? Do these experts know that all through the past year these miserable few shillings a week have only been a means of prolonging the agony? Can a Cabinet Minister live on 29/- a week? He should be made to try, then he would begin to see eye to eye with the "extremists"!

But not the "extremists" are anxious about this dole so much as the constitutional reformists, who would fain win favour with the masses by begging what should be demanded as a right. All sides agree that this sudden cessation is cruel; but the only satisfaction to be gained is that the powers that be are digging their own graves!

It must now be established once and for all that there should be work for those who are physically fit, and where this fails, wages on the same scale as when at work should be ensured to all. This is no Utopian idea, for Soviet Russia has put it into practice under much greater difficulties than exist in this country.

Many say piously that unemployment must always exist, and exist it will if employers are to have their way. They want now to force people, through hunger, to accept sweated wages. Every organisation should fight this, and continue to agitate until a living wage is assured to every worker, both employed and unemployed. If there are too many hands for a certain job, let the workers on that job work shorter hours so as to absorb the unemployed. Those who are working to-day are mostly over-tasked; why allow this absurd and wasteful state of things to continue?

Strikes have been advocated and boomed and threatened for all manner of things, including the rescue of Soviet Russia; but how can the British masses be expected to strike that the Russian worker may exist; if they do not strike now for their own existence—for the right to live.

M. O'C.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

AMERICAN MINERS.

The capitalist Press is now advertising largely the fact that Mr. Lewis, the miners' leader, has accepted the proposal of Mr. Wilson, labour secretary, for a wage advance of 31.61 per cent. for day labourers and of 27.12 cents. per ton for diggers. General silence has been maintained as to the real facts happening since the leaders "called off" the strike. Judging by the splendid stand made by the miners, it is doubtful whether Mr. Lewis has been authorised by the men to accept these terms, since a sixty per cent. increase was one of their demands.

CHEAPER COAL.

What must have been the amount of profiteering in coal when the price can suddenly be reduced by 10/- per ton! A Bill to limit coal profits to 1/2 per ton is to be introduced in Parliament. Is this reduction being made to let the profiteers off lightly? This is the miners' chance to expose the game of the mine owners.

COPENHAGEN NEGOTIATIONS.

M. Litvinoff has arrived at Copenhagen to meet Mr. O'Grady, M.P., to negotiate on the question of exchange of prisoners. Great hopes are being raised by the rumours that Maxim Litvinoff is also the bearer of peace terms. If he should again proffer terms, will the British continue to deny having received any terms from the Bolsheviks?

The Bolsheviks are now complete masters of the situation in a military sense, having put to flight the three pets of the Allies, Yudenitch, Kolchak and Denikin.

NEW SOVIET POLICY.

The Warsaw correspondent of the *Times* reports that the Bolsheviks are considering the formation of a new Government to include Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. We rather think the truth must be that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries are throwing in their lot with the Bolsheviks, which, of course, is quite a different matter.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN U.S.

As most English capitalist papers, so too the only Paris one now issued, *La Presse de Paris*, is actively circulating damaging reports about Comrade Martens, the Bolshevik representative in New York. The issue of November 19th states that the authorities are in possession of all Martens' papers, and that he may be deported. Mr. Heller who worked in connection with Martens, stated that already 2,500 American firms had been approached with a view to establishing commercial relations between Soviet Russia and the United States.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK ACTIVITY.

Ever since the apparent non-intervention attitude of the Prime Minister, the interventionist Press has been carrying on active propaganda to prove the Bolsheviks guilty of every evil. *The Times* departed from its time-honoured dignity to publish a British officer's letter to his wife—pure piffle of a vulgar type. Still, you may buy it in pamphlet form. The *Morning Post* has not been outdone in its anxiety to rake up atrocity stories in order to inflame the prude Englishman against the Bolsheviks, just as the German, or rather Hun atrocity campaign helped recruiting in the war.

THAT FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK.

The Washington Labour Conference has decided on the forty-eight hour working week, and the eight-hour day. However, the employers had to be pandered to with the result that certain industries may re-arrange the working time, so that the time worked in any one day does not exceed nine hours. Overtime is not limited, and the rate is to be time and a quarter.

This decision seems to be anti-deluvian in view of the agitation for a forty-hour week and shorter; but doubtless the very unfortunate slaves of industry will be helped somewhat.

MILK PRICES.

ACTION BY THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

The Women's Co-Operative Guild, which represents about 33,000 married working women, is taking energetic action to bring home to those responsible the disastrous effects of the present high prices of milk, and points out that there are thousands of working class mothers who are not going to accept "charity," and who would not be considered "necessitous" if they applied for milk, but who are nevertheless obliged to cut down the quantity of milk for themselves and their children to much below the needs of health. It is to bring home such facts to the authorities that the various sections of the Guild are organising deputations to the Divisional Food Commissioners all over the country. Already the Commissioners for the North-Western, Eastern and Home Counties have agreed to receive deputations, and it is expected that others will do the same. Guild branches all over the country are eager to take part.

In Soviet Russia the child and mother have the first claim on milk and food; is it to prove its disagreement with this humane method that capitalist England starves *its* children?

STRIKE BREAKING.

We read with interest in the *Daily Express* that "The National Federation of General Workers, of which Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., is a prominent official, is determined to kill unauthorised strikes." This report is due to the resolution passed at the National Federation Conference condemning strikes without the consent of the executive of each of the affiliated unions, and the endorsement of the Federation!

The unions affected include the National Union of General Workers, the Dock, Wharf, and Riverside Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, the Engineers and Craftsmen's Union, the National Union of Vehicle Workers, the Navvies' Union, and the Workers' Union.

From what we know of the spirit of the rank and file of these unions, they are not going to accept official dictatorship to this extent.

THE JOKE OF THE WEEK.

The Board of Trade is to hold an inquiry into profiteering in the wool trade; but the Government is the real profiteer in the matter!

GERMAN SOCIALISTS.

German Majority Socialists and Independents have been trying to negotiate a method by which they could co-operate, inview of the monarchical and reactionary plots. Now, however, the Independents have made it clear that they cannot support a partly bourgeois Government.

BELGIAN ELECTIONS.

The latest return of the Belgian elections shows that the Socialists are the second strongest party in the Chamber, having secured seventy seats; the Catholics are the strongest having seventy-one seats.

FRENCH ELECTIONS.

Proportional Representation has had a strange effect on French elections; as the results show. Whilst the Socialists secured about 2,000,000 votes, P. R. has been so well wangled as to register a Socialist defeat at the polls.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

Elections in Italy prove the increased strength and popularity of Socialists, 160 Socialist deputies having been elected.

* * *

Although electors in Roumania are fined if they do not vote, 54 per cent. of the electors in the recent elections abstained. The peasants won 60 seats.

SUPREME CRUELTY.

In Vienna, the wives and mothers of the prisoners of war still in Russia, Siberia and Turkestan have formed a league. This league appeals to all women to help them to rescue the hundreds and thousands of men imprisoned under the most appalling conditions. One hundred and fifty thousand prisoners of war in those areas are subjects of the Austrian Republic. For five years these men have only seen the world "through a hole in a board or through a barbed wire fence." These poor prisoners are doing slaves' work, living in infected camps and barracks where thousands die of typhoid and starvation. They are in rags, and to satisfy their hunger they are forced to beg, borrow or steal. Our Austrian comrades beseech us to stretch out a helping hand, more especially as the prisoners write that they cannot live through another winter under present conditions.

Under the circumstances this appeal has come rather late, as winter, with all its horrors, must now be upon these poor, forsaken war victims who say: "We are forgotten and forsaken, without protection, helpless and hopeless." But surely their lot could be alleviated till transport is possible. Why should not these unfortunate neglected human beings be cared for by some Government as individuals in distress and not as "imprisoned enemies" when the war has long ceased?

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

In our advertisement columns details are given of the meeting of the London Provisional H. O. R. Committee on December 8th. A "Hands Off Russia" Conference will be held on December 7th, at 10.30 a.m., at the International Socialist Club, 28, East-road, City-road, E.C. Mr. Tom Mann will preside. The energetic support of all trade unionists and Socialists is necessary to make this conference an unprecedented success.

NEW HUNGARIAN CABINET.

The following Cabinet has just been formed in Budapest according to a telegram to the *Vossische Zeitung*:

Premier	M. Huszar.
National Economy	M. Radi
Finance	M. Koranyi.
Trade	M. Heinrich.
Public Worship	M. Haller.
Agriculture	M. Rubinek.
War	M. Friedrich.*
Foreign Affairs	Count Somsich.

* The ex-Premier.

The Social-Democrats receive the portfolio of Food and the Political Secretariate of the Ministry of the Interior.

TIGHT BINDING.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

PENNY PIFFLE OR TWOPENNY TRUTH?

Come, Henry. Let me take you gently by the hand, and leading you to a quiet corner, allow me to whisper into your shell-like ear (oysters are of various sizes, you know,) an important piece of news. But no. On second thoughts I will keep it to the end of this article, Now don't go and look there just yet.

I want you to take a good grip on yourself and say "I will be a Man, whatever happens." That's right. Sit tight. Be bright.

In the meantime let us take a scansion (good word!) at the title of this article. What does it mean? Does it refer anywise to dumping cheap German goods here? My friend, I rejoice to say it does not. I wish to invite you to look over my shoulder as I turn over some back issues of the Penny Perverters—otherwise our old friend the Bellow Press.

The "Times" is not exactly a penny paper, but whatever appears in it is usually reproduced by its avuncular copycat the "Daily Mail." The "Times" of February 9th 1918, therefore, came out with "German Gold for Lenin; The Sinews of Revolution: Evidence of Letters." And thereafter followed half a dozen letters from various people to various other people, Huns on the one hand and Bolsheviks on the other, with German Gold passing in between. The people concerned appear to be a parcel of rogues altogether, for we have Lenin alias Ulianov, Trotsky alias Bronstein, Zinovieff alias Apfelbaum, Kameneff alias Rosenfeld, Stiekloff alias Nahamkes, and so on.

Well, the above letters were communicated by a staunch Russian Patriot who desired to remain nameless. And so he has remained even unto this day. All the sleuth-hounds who have attempted to track Truth to her particular well have so far failed. As soon as they arrive in the place where the "Russian Patriot" was last seen, he has just left the town.

A little later, the "Star" not to be outdone by the Northcliffe Carmelites, played a little tune with the following music.

> "Bolsheviks' War Chest. Reported Flight of Army Chief with 10,000 000 Roubles. It is reported from Vienna that the Chief Commissary of the Bolshevik Army, M. Stojanow, has fled by means of an aeroplane after having stolen ten millions of roubles."

And a few days afterwards the "Standard" went round with a hand-organ and proceeded to grind out a new jazz waltz.

> "Lenin and Trotsky were stated to have fled to Kronstadt, but the latest report is that Lenin is on a German ship in Helsingfors harbour, and Trotsky also is in Helsingfors."

The rest of the press then made a scramble for the laurels of the late lamented Mr. Ananias, and one picture paper came out with a cartoon of Trotsky holding a bag of gold and the legend underneath "Trotsky's Good-bye."

And now, looking back upon it all, it would seem as if Lenin, Trotsky and Co. must have missed their trains, for they are still in Moscow. Some unkind people would suggest that the Penny Prevaricators were, well, prevaricating.

However, it is a question of getting at the facts. When the Bellow Press makes the Bolsheviks kill Kropotkin, Maxim Gorky, and other well known Russians, and then resurrects them the following week, that may be exceedingly comic But if we take it that people buy newspapers in order to learn the news, not the newest atrocity jokes—they may as well have a look round to see what paper gives the real goods.

Now, if you want to learn the latest news about football, you will not invest twopence in the "Wesleyan Guardian." In the same way, if you wish to know the latest news about Russia, you will take in—shall we say?—the "Dreadnought." If you wish to know all the news of the working class movements all over the world you will hardly look in the Tory "Morning Post" for it.

The "Dreadnought" costs more than the usual penny pifflers, but the truth is never expensive. There are eight solid pages of good reading matter, and an occasional cartoon thrown in as a make weight. And if you write to the Editor about it, she will see that the office girl sends it to you tied up in a pink ribbon.

The week after next if my calendar is not last year's, will be the 13th of December; and if you have a diary you can mark a red cr[oss] against that date. Failing possession of a diary—by fair means or foul—tie a piece of clothesline round your big toe. For that week our Special Double Number will be out. And when it is out, the world won't half know it.

Our Special Double Number will consist of sixteen pages, no less; if you don't believe it, add twice eight, and take away the number you first thought of. There will be articles by the Editor, usual contributors, and Myself. Then there will be articles by G. M. Serrati, Editor of the "Avanti," Ernst Nobs, Editor of "Volksrecht," Paul Faure, Editor of "Le Populaire," Comrade Bordiga of the Italian Anti-Parliamentary Group, and others. (See advert.) There will also be Cartoons and Illustrations, merely to fill up space.

And the price of the whole will be Twopence. If you have twopence to spend, prepare to spend it now.

IDEAS FOR A PROGRAMME.

Continued from page 1552.

which will provide amply for all our needs. There will then be no scarcity to supply a reason why we should be rationed, and greediness in consumption will disappear with scarcity, because it is want that gives rise to it. Only the man who believes that he may be unable to obtain a meal when he wants one continues eating after his appetite is spent.

The distribution of commodities without money payments presents no social difficulties of organisation. Such common necessities of daily life as milk and bread, of which a household usually requires the same quantities every day, would be delivered regularly, just as the municipal dustman arrives at stated intervals to collect the refuse without payment, and the baker and the milkman call on the middle-class households to-day. Other common necessities, for instance, vegetables, might be brought to our doors in order that we might take what we chose from the stock brought round, or they might be delivered to our order; or again, we might get them from the various distributing centres, shopping for ourselves, just as we do to-day, but without giving any coins in exchange for the goods we choose.

We should not have, as now, competing shops opened because someone has capital to invest and thinks he can place it profitably in the grocery or drapery business, because a woman has lost her husband and must earn a living without leaving her home, because a man has lost a leg and wants light work to do. Nevertheless, distribution could be organised much as at present, till human ingenuity modified by the communist environment and experience devises other methods.

Our Russian Communist Comrades tell us that they confidently expect the time when money will be unnecessary; when people will take freely what they desire, and when it will be generally recognised that an injury to the Community is committed not in taking freely all that one needs, but in wasting the time which should be devoted to doing ones share of productive work.

Internationally, also, money will disappear; at first commodities will be exchanged for commodities; then each nation will give its surplus products to the nations which require them, without measuring whether their precise value is returned in other commodities.

We must inscribe on our programme for the revolution: *The Abolition of the Wage System* and as steps thereto:—

Equal Wages for All Grades in all Industries and Professions so long as the wage system continues.

Equal Pay for Men and Women.

The Same Pay for the Mother at Home.

Full Wages to continue during Sickness and Unemployment.

Old Age Pensions to be equal to the general rate of wages.

Allowances for the Children.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

(To be continued.)

RUSSIAN MEETING.

At a crowded meeting held by the Pontypool Trades Council on Saturday 22nd, at which Lt.-Commander Kenworthy was the speaker, Mr. Winstone in the chair, the following resolution, which was proposed by Rev. Gordon Lang, B.A., was passed unanimously:—"This meeting of Pontypool residents and workers resolves to take decisive action with reference to the Prime Minister's recent speeches (Guildhall and House of Commons, November 18th) as the time has come for rank and file action to *help* our Russian comrades, who are being subjected to the most cruel and unwarranted blockade: this meeting, therefore, suggests that a conference of the rank and file be called to determine what action should be taken to free Soviet Russia once and for all from *all* external interference."

The resolution is being circulated, we understand, to all affiliated bodies, and meetings are to be convened to decide how best to act up to the spirit of this resolution.

IRISH PRISONERS.

The following official notice has been issued with reference to the treatment of Sinn Fein prisoners:—

Notice is hereby given that from and after November 24th 1919, prisoners who resort to hunger-striking will not in any circumstances be released from prison, either unconditionally or conditionally under the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act, 1913. From and after the said November 24th, 1919, any prisoner who, notwithstanding the terms of this notice, may resort to hunger striking will do so with the full knowledge of the consequences. If any prisoner persists in such conduct and refuses to partake of food and sustenance provided by the prison authority, he will be alone responsible.

The notice is issued by the General Prisons' Board, Dublin Castle.

Can inhumanity go any further?

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD are holding a **GRAND DANCE** in the WORKERS' SOCIALIST CLUB,
28, East Road, City Road, on Sat. Nov. 29th
Dancing 7.30 till 12 TICKETS 1/3
American Jazz Band. Good Music,
Come and Dance and Enjoy Yourself.

LONDON HANDS OFF RUSSIA Co[mmittee]

GREAT MEETING in [Caxton] Hall
Grays Inn Rd. W.C.
Lt. Col. MALO[NE] HOLBORN HALL
Robt. WI[LLIAMS], M.P. Prof. W. T. GOODE,
Re[v.] [WILL]IAMS. Monday, 8 Dec. 8 p.m.
Admission Free.

[Reser]ved Seats 6d. and 1s. to be obtained from Fred. H. Peet, 21a, Maiden Lane, W.C.2., and at the doors.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

NOVEMBER 17TH.—Mr. Harmsworth said a report of the proceedings between Mr. O'Grady and Maxim Litvinoff at Copenhagen about the exchange of prisoners would be issued to the House, but he could not promise that it would be a verbatim one! We want a verbatim report and no garbled impression of the conversations which may take place.

THE FALL OF THE MIGHTY.

Mr. Macpherson apologised to Mr. MacVeagh (Nat.) who called him "impertinent." Evidently the Chief Secretary got orders to climb down, as in the ordinary course of events the apology was due from the one who used "unparliamentary" language!

BRITISH IN ATTACK ON PETROGRAD.

Mr. Churchill stated that General Yudenitch, in his last attack on Petrograd, was assisted by "a British Tank Detachment consisting of twenty-two officers and twenty-nine other ranks." These were men who "volunteered" to train the Russian North-West Army in the use of tanks. In whose pay are these men?

INDUSTRIAL COURTS BILL.

The third reading of the Industrial Courts Bill was taken, and the Bill passed in its amended form.

RUSSIA.

Once again Russia was the subject of debate, and again much mud was thrown at the Soviet Government. Sir D. Maclean (L.) added to the epithets used in connection with Bolshevism by designating it a "wicked and an evil thing." Lord R. Cecil (C.U.) maintained that it was quite foreign to all British traditions "to propose negotiations with a Government like the Bolshevik Government so long as it is stained with such crime; thus leading the House to imagine that morals of Governments are inquired into before negotiations are entered into. How was it that the inhuman régime of the Czar was able to bring about an alliance with this country if the British Government prided itself on its "clean hands" As the position at present stands, Lenin's Government should hesitate to negotiate with the British Government for its injustice and the oppression in force in Ireland, Egypt, and India. Lord Cecil, however, did well to denounce the blockade; for that we must be glad, though his reasons were not those of a Socialist.

THE BETRAYERS OF THE WORKERS.

The leading Labour members, principally Messrs. Henderson and Thomas, distinguished themselves as anti-Bolsheviks during the debate. Intervention must cease; but that does not mean that the Labour Party advocates or defends Soviet rule! Mr. Henderson affirmed: "I personally am strongly opposed to a Proletarian Minority Dictatorship, just as I am opposed to a dictatorship either of a Czar or a Kaiser." But what did Mr. Henderson do to oppose the autocracy of the Czar? Mr. Thomas, on the other hand, took his cue from the extreme anti-German and anti-everything, except re-action, side of the House, and joined in the chorus to "deplore" any "sinister combination between Germany and Russia." If Mr. Thomas has a vestige of Socialist feeling or understanding, he will wish to guard against the oppression of Soviet Russia by capitalist Germany or capitalist Britain—it is not the *nationality* of the capitalist that matters when the fate of the first Socialist Republic hangs in the balance, *the issue is purely one of Capitalism versus Socialism.*

PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. Lloyd George accomplished a fairly complete overthrow of the Churchill doctrine, and if Mr. Churchill still remains at the War Office, the public must believe that he is in agreement with the Prime Minister, whose policy now seems definitely anti-intervention in an open manner. The ice-blockade has relieved the ships in the Baltic, but we do not know whether that blockade will be resumed It is all vague!

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

NOVEMBER 18TH.—The Government is now "considering" the report of the Old Age Pension Committee, and the aged poor must continue to starve meanwhile.

ALIENS BANNED.

The Aliens Bill was passed in its amended form

IRISH LAND BILL.

Mr. Macpherson is working hard to cultivate a new type of "planters" in Ireland. The Irish soldiers and sailors who fought in the war are to be rewarded with the grant of a piece of land. The Bill introducing this "magnaminous" measure was read a second time.

ROYAL MARINES IMPRISONED.

NOVEMBER 19TH.—Commander Kenworthy and Colonel Wedgwood (L.) stated that at present 90 men of the Royal Marines were undergoing imprisonment in Bodmin naval prison, Cornwall. Their "crime" was that they refused to go on active service in Russia, since they were sent there ostensibly to "relieve" the British forces. Some of these men have served all through the war. Mr. Long replied that their courts martial were now being reviewed by the Board of Admiralty. These men however, some but twenty-one and under, want to go to their homes after their long war service. Is this how they are being rewarded?

HOUSES!

Under the Housing Act, 124 have been completed.

UNEMPLOYMENT DOLE.

The Minister of Labour calmly declared that those receiving out of work donation, who were not service men, would now have to depend on their own resources. The House, led by the Labour Party, denounced this sudden decision, and pointed out the suffering that would be caused to those unemployed through no fault of their own; yet the vote was in favour of the Government decision. There was no one in the House able to drive home the fact that unemployment pay is a right not a dole. The Russian Soviet law ensuring pay and work to all was not quoted, and so long as the present system remains in force here it will not be copied; for Mr. Bonar Law definitely said, when referring to the speech of Mr. Jack Jones (Lab.) that he seemed to want "our social system to be turned upside down, that everything that everybody has should be more or less equally divided. . . If it is on those grounds . . that this donation is asked to be continued, then this Government can have no parley or compromise whatever about it. *This is a view of the life of society which we cannot accept.*" If you ever had doubts about the capitalist system now you are disillusioned!

BLOCKADE ENDED?

NOVEMBER 20TH.—"It is not proposed that our Fleet should patrol the Baltic."—Prime Minister on blockade of Soviet Russia.

CONFERENCE.

The inter-Allied Conference which will discuss Russia may be held in London; the Prime Minister hopes it will. It is up to those of us who want fair-play to insist that Russia cannot be discussed unless Russia is present, i.e., representatives from Soviet Russia.

INDIGENT VIENNA.

The Prime Minister stated that without the help of America it is impossible for Great Britain to help starving Vienna. Yet, surely, England had more to do with the "knock-out blow" than America? Responsibility for the terrible suffering in that city cannot be shelved.

PREMIER'S PHOTO.

It cost £30 to have the Premier's photo reproduced on the poster, "The Prime Minister to Employers."

ELECTRICITY.

The clause transferring the control of electricity from Board of Trade to Minister of Transport was debated at great length.

HOUSING QUESTION.

NOVEMBER 21ST.—The sum total of the Government statement on housing was that building could not be carried on quickly enough without a bribe, therefore anyone who builds a house within a year will henceforth be given a grant of £150, or threepence per cubic foot of space, the conditions to be fulfilled being that "it must be a house fit for habitation."

M. O C.

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IRISH NOTES.

The following are acts of aggression committed in Ireland by the military and police as reported in the daily Press for the week-ending November 8:—

Raids, 1,118; arrests, 27; sentences, 32; Proclamations and suppressions, 8; courts martial, 1; armed assaults, 6. Total, 1,192.

* * * *

Police and military raids during the nine months ending September 30th, 1919, reported in the daily Press numbered 5,588. The real number must be many times this figure, because during the greater portion of the period the Censor forbade publication of details of such raids. In two days "military drives" in County Tipperary—unreported in the Press—over 4,000 houses were raided, the occupiers in many cases being not only searched but stripped naked by the police and soldiers.

* * *

Sentences of three months' imprisonment each were on Wednesday, 12th instant, inflicted by Mr. Swift on Messrs. Sean O'Mahony, M.P. for South Fermanagh, John Hayes, M.P. for South Cork, Frank Lawless, M.P. for North Dublin, and six members of the clerical staff of Dail Eireann for "illegal assembly." The offence consisted of being found at their usual office work on the premises occupied by Dail Eireann, the Government set up by the votes of 70 per cent. of the Irish people The defendants refused to recognise the court.

* * *

By a recent order the British Government has decreed that Irish exporters of fat stock may not export more than 9,650 head of cattle per week, though the average export trade for three weeks ending November 1st was 15,000 head per week. These restrictions have been imposed at the instance of British cattle breeders, who desire to keep a close market for their stocks. The result will be a loss to Irish stock owners between this and Christmas of about one and a-half million pounds. Ireland could dispose of its surplus cattle stock on the Continent but that the English Government not only compels shipment by licence through English ports, but further, places Irishmen in the hands of their trade rivals in England by establishing a committee of English cattle traders to take charge of the export of cattle to the Continent.

POLICE PAID BETTER THAN TEACHERS.

A policeman in Ireland, after six months' training, has an initial salary of £3 10s., with allowances value for at least 10/- per week total, £4 per week.

A teacher in Ireland, after a training course lasting from five to seven years, has an initial salary of £1 10s. per week, plus a temporary non-pensionable bonus of 23/—total, £2 13s. per week.

—*Freeman's Journal*, 14/11/19.

ORGANISED SABOTAGE IN IRELAND.

The latest weapon used by the English military forces in Ireland to break the national movement is sabotage.

On September 8th of this year, English troops, in uniform, acting under officers in mufti, issued forth from the barracks at Fermoy and wrecked the town, smashing the principal shops and looting their contents. Although the damage done to private property on that occasion reached a total exceeding £10,000, not one of the riotous troops was punished by the English authorities. This free pardon has had the result which seemed to be desired by the heads of the English army in Ireland. Within the last week reports have come to hand announcing that in three of the most important military centres in Ireland English troops have followed the example given with impunity at Fermoy.

In the town of Kinsale, English troops, issuing from Cove Camp near by, entered the town with trench sticks, and attacked shops in all the principal streets, wrecking many premises.

At Athlone the Gordon Highlanders demolished many business premises.

ABOUT PROFITEERING.

We need not go to the theatre for burlesque. Newspaper publicity provides it for us so much cheaper in these days when even 'Standing Room" in the "gods" is provided at increased fees to harmonise with our phenomenally increased wages.

I am, of course, referring to the newsy parliamentary reports. The sensational posters, also, among the demobilised, force the attention of even the most myopic of the proletarian devourers of the printed essence of Capital's practical politics. First it is wordy type about "National Economy"—denied later by "Slough," and then comes a fusillade of injunctions to the workers to 'Produce More," "Work Harder," (Oh, forget the stolen fruits of labour gourmandised by corpulent parasites at State Functions, At Homes, banquetings, etc.!) followed by "Down with Waste!" And now the shrill cry goes out over the housetops :—"Stop Profiteering!"

Now—"When the masses are getting angry about excesses committed by privileged members of the system whose interests we guard, or by the Government itself (same thing!)—we also must simulate righteous anger and ally ourselves 'sympathetically' with the 'popular outery,' and, by any and every possible means, dope the discontented so they may turn from doubting our 'election friendship' and become amenable to diversion and rendered impotent." That is the politician's most practical policy—unaverred 'tis true—but, well, think it over for yourself.

After extortionate prices have long been demanded for all kinds of necessary commodities, and the people have at last got so fed up as to threaten a cessation of their lengthy, patient passiveness, the powers that be assert themselves, more than usual, to furnish Dubbism with 'evidence' of the need and vitality of their 'directive abilities.' The press steps in also. Posters of Yellow Press rags noisily announce from lorry, bus and hoarding 'Down with Profiteering!' And, of course, profiteering comes down. Another thing, tame Trade Unionism officially grows indignant (for the same reason and with the same counterfeit spirit as Governmentalism), and at a mass meeting of many thousands in Hyde Park a resolution 'Down with Profiteering!' is unanimously carried. The resolutionists, mainly, are quite sincerely indignant, though hardly class-conscious enough to ACT against profiteering. Resolutions 'in sympathy' are 'carried unanimously' at many meetings; they remain —resolutions. Everybody talks about profiteering, about it being mighty terrible and all that. Some want to hang the unfortunate profiteers; others, like the officials behind the "Labour Leader," call upon us or somebody to 'Conscript the Profiteers!' And the profiteers, fearing for their very lives, reduce prices, don't they? Of course they do!

Well, well, this is a funny world. Only before the war we lived in a sort of Utopia; there were no profiteers then—oh no! Those who went to scrap for national self-annihilation—I mean 'determination'; sorry!—were promised a super-Utopia, IF they came back. (Pity we forgot the ancient adage about politicians' promises being like pie-crust, made to be broken.) Some of them have come back somehow, and now the Government is moving mountains to provide them with—little wooden huts. Also, the Government, wisely seeing our point of view, has recently passed a law to put a stop to the profiteering. The Government MEANS well.....yes!

Now, a law may be like a passive resolution, merely a 'flash in the pan,' purposely made known with great ostentation in order to throw dust in the people's eyes, or it may be the legalising of governmental exploitation or tyranny; in any case, it is passed to bolster up and maintain the Capitalist system in the interests of the bossing class. In this case the Anti-Profiteering Act is a 'resolution' law, and its effects are what I have called a burlesque. It is really very comical, for, like that other 'dope idea' the League of Capitalists—I mean Nations—it has absorbed the too serious attention of even many Socialists, whose whole mind and self should be devoted to revolutionary propaganda aiming at the downfall of Capital, not the amelioration of Capital's rotten effects: their powers have been utilised by the Reaction...O Thou Great Futilities!

It is reported that the prosecutions by the Ministry of Food against profiteers amounts up to date (20/10/19) to 1,350. Now, 1,320 "offenders" have been convicted and have had altogether to part with as much as £7,060—hold your breath!—which works out at an average of just £5 each, (and no doubt the culprits smiled with their tongues in their cheeks!) This is scandalously unjust to the folk who have innocently tacked prices on many necessities up to as much as 300 per cent on pre-war prices. Let us retire and consider the matter.

Calmly considered it all seems so simple, casting aside the Press-ful ready-made and very shoddy information. Why howl merely against Profiteering? It is like prostitution and the 'flu', a natural effect of the system we vegetate in. The bossing classes live upon what they can make out of the toiling wage-slaves; they pay a little back in exchange for all the splendid things we produce for them so WE may purchase a few of the coarser, more adulterated things we have produced for ourselves; and they 'keep the change'—which is clear profit. Proudhon wrote 'Profit is robbery'; Marx called it 'surplus value'; the label doesn't matter, the stuff inside is the same and the profiteering that some people call excessive is but a more intensified legal robbery—a natural effect of militantly rising Capitalism reaching its zenith. Not merely such effects should be aimed at, but the very base of operations (you are robbed first in the workshop) should be infiltrated with the revolutionary propaganda that shall create among workers a true understanding of the class-interested iniquities of Capitalism, and inspire enthusiasm for the direct industrial overthrow, through the transformation of workshop conditions to operate in working class interests alone, and the inauguration of the libertarian atmosphere of the Communism of Comrades.

C. B. WARWICK

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, Nov. 28th—Sidney St. Mile End 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Nov. 29th Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Hackney. Meetings at Well Street, corner of Morning Lane, at 3 p.m. and at Queens Road, corner of Dalston Lane, at 7 p.m. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds and others.

Sunday, Nov. 30th 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, Melvina Walker, Minnie Birch.

Friday, Dec. 5th. 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd, Dalston Lane. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Dec. 6th Great Push in Camberwell and Lewisham.

INDOOR.

Friday, Nov. 28th 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Dancing.

Sunday, Nov. 30th 7 p.m.—20, Railway St., Poplar. Walter Ponder. Chair—Melvina Walker. (see advert).

Monday, Dec. 1st. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m. W.S.F. Reading Circle.

Thursday, Dec. 4th. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. Fifth Lecture on Industrial History, (Decline of Feudalism).

Friday, Dec. 5th. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, Nov. 30th 12 noon—Victoria Park, Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd. Dalston Lane, Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, Dec. 4th 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, Business Meeting.

Walthamstow League of Rights.

Tuesday, Dec 2nd 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall Somers Road. R. W. Sorensen.

East Ham League of Rights.

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd. 8 p.m.—Old Public Offices Wakefield Rd. Miss McCarthy: "Life in New Zealand."

SIXPENNY SERMONS.

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd. 8 p.m.—Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand. Debate: "Why the Catholic Crusade welcomes the Irish Republic." Preacher Conrad Noel. Opener, Godfrey Bell, (Priests of the Catholic Crusade.)

Eltham Labour League (Women's Section.)

Thursday, Dec. 4th. 2.30 p.m.—Well Hall Institute, Well Hall Rd. Melvina Walker—"Soviets or Parliament."

W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

20, RAILWAY ST. POPLAR.

Sunday, Nov. 30th 7 p.m.

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